

THE
IMPORTANCE
OF
DUNKIRK
CONSIDER'D:

In Defence of the
GUARDIAN
Of *August* the 7th.
IN
A LETTER to the Bailiff of Stockbridge.

By Mr. STEELE,

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for A. Baldwin in Warwick-lane. 1713.

卷之三

六、

Издательство

10. The following table shows the number of hours worked by each employee.

Установка

To the Worshipful
Mr. JOHN SNOW,
 Bailiff of STOCKBRIDGE.

SIR,

According to my Promise when I took my leave of you, I send you all the Pamphlets and Papers which have been Printed since the Dissolution of the last Parliament; among these you will find your Humble Servant no small Man, but spoken of more than once in Print: You will find I take up whole Pages in the *Examiner*, and that there is a little Pamphlet written wholly upon me, and directed to me. As you are the Magistrate of the Town wherein, of all Places in the World, it concerns me most to appear a different Man, from the Person whom these Writers represent me; I address my Vindication to you, and at the same time to the whole Borough. In the first place I must recommend to your Perusal a printed Paper, which was publish'd in French on one side, and English on the other, and given *Gratis* in the open Streets: A Country Gentleman of my Acquaintance, who was going into *Wales* the next Day, receiv'd one of them from a Boy distributing them in *Cheapside*, and made me a Present of it. I will trouble you only with the English.

A most Humble Address or Memorial presented to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk, to Her Majesty.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE Sieur Tugghe, Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk to your Majesty, to implore your Clemency in relation to the intended Demolition of the Fortifications and Port of the said Town, had entertain'd Hopes that by the most hum-

ble Representations he had presum'd to make, touching the extreme Misery to which the said Demolition will reduce Eighteen Thousand Families that make up that City, Your Majesty's Mercy might have been moved, and that according to his most respectful Request, he might have obtain'd the Preservation at least of the Mole or Dikes of that Port. But he was as it were, Thunder-struck by the Denunciation which my Lord Viscount Bolingbroke made to him, that Your Majesty did not think fit to make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence You haue pronounc'd against that Town, and that 'tis Your Majesty's Pleasure that Sentence should be executed in its full Extent. Tho' stunn'd by this Blow, the Sieur Tugghe yet presumes to approach once more Your Majesty's awful Throne, being thereto encouraged by the Benefit your Majesty's Clemency pours down on all the Nations of the Earth: And with trembling to represent to Your Majesty, that he does not demand that the Works that may serve either for the Attack or Defence of Dunkirk be preserved, either on the Land-side, or towards the Sea. The unfortunate Inhabitants of Dunkirk are no longer concern'd for those magnificent Works, that strike Terror on all the Beholders. The Magistrates only beg the Preservation of the Mole and Dikes that form and keep up the Harbour, thereby to preserve to their People only their necessary Subsistence, by enabling them to carry on their Herring Fishing, and some other small Trade along the Coast.

Your Majesty endued with Native Clemency and Christian Charity, of which all Nations feel the benign Influence, desires not to return evil for evil; nor does Your Majesty admit it in Your Resolutions any farther than it is indispensably necessary according to Political Views, and agreeable to the Welfare of Your own Subjects. The Sieur Tugghe will presume to observe to Your Majesty that the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk, in the naked Condition it has been Represented, will neither be inconsistent either with the Political Views of Great Britain, or the Welfare and Good of the British Subjects, but rather Beneficial to both.

Dunkirk has had the Misfortune to become the Object of Great Britain's Indignation, either by the Sea Armaments the King made there, and which during the late Wars may have disturb'd the Tranquility of Your Majesty's Kingdoms, and retarded the Execution of your Majesty's Projects, or by the Privateering of its Inhabitants, which has often annoy'd and molest'd the Trade of Your Majesty's Subjects. But in the Condition to which Your Petitioner begs its Harbour to be reduc'd, that

that is divest'd of all its Works and Fortifications, and its Mole and Dikes only preserv'd, it will never be able, whatever War (which God avert) may happen for the future, either to form any Obstacle to Your Majesty's Projects, or to disturb the Trade of Your Majesty's Subjects, since in such a Condition it will be an open Town, both on the Land and Sea side, abandon'd to the first Invader, defenceless for whom soever shall possess it, and which any Enemy may enter by Sea and by Land, in order to burn both the Ships that might be fitting out there, and even the Town and Harbour. Thus in such a Condition Dunkirk neither will nor even can be opposite either to Your Majesty's Political Views, or to the Welfare of Your Majesty's Subjects.

The Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk without Works and Fortifications, may in fine be equally useful, and become even absolutely necessary, both for Your Majesty's Political Views, and the Good of Your Subjects.

Your Majesty's Political Views, chiefly in Times of Peace, center all in the Increase of the Commerce of Your Majesty's Subjects, and at the same time the Welfare and Interest of Your Subjects lie in the Improvement of their Trade. Therefore by proving that the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk will be not only advantageous, but also necessary for the Commerce of the Subjects of Great Britain, Your Petitioner hopes he shall prove all that's contain'd in his Second Proposition.

First, Dunkirk is become the Object of the Jealousy of the Dutch, and the Dutch have wish'd for its Destruction upon no other View, but to assume to themselves alone all the Commerce of the Austrian Low-Countries and of all Germany, being apprehensive that other Nations might share those Two Branches of Trades with them, in case the Harbour of that Town were preserv'd, because it is the only Harbour on the Coast from Ostend Westward, by which Commodities from foreign Countries may be brought into those Provinces, which they design to surround, as it were with a Wall of Brass, in order to secure to themselves all the Trade thereof by the Scheld, the Lys, and the Rhine. And as it highly concerns Great Britain not to be excluded from those Two Branches of Trade, so it very much concerns Great Britain to preserve the Harbour of Dunkirk, by which means alone Great Britain can maintain its Commerce in the said Provinces.

Secondly, Supposing that Your Majesty's Subjects might, in spite of the Designs of the Dutch, carry on their Trade in the

the Austrian Netherlands, by the Harbours of Ostend and Newport, yet they will not be able to hold it long in Competition with the Hollanders, both by reason of the Conveniency and less Expence which the latter will find in carrying on their Commerce by the Scheld, and the Lys, and the round about way the other will be oblig'd to go. Whereas by preserving the Harbour of Dunkirk, the English would have that way Conveniences almost equal to those the Dutch have; especially if Your Majesty would, as you easily may, obtain from the King a free Passage Custom free for all Commodities from England, from Dunkirk to the Austrian Low-Countries, by the Way of Lisle and Douay.

Thirdly, If according to Your Majesty's Resolution the Harbour of Dunkirk be fill'd up, Your Majesty's Subjects will thereby be excluded not only from the Trade of the Austrian Netherlands, but also from that of French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Part of Picardy, because they will have no other Harbour on all that Coast, to import their Commodities into those Four Provinces, that of Calais being unserviceable to that Commerce.

Fourthly, If the Demolition of the Harbour of Dunkirk should not discourage Your Majesty's Subjects from the Trade of French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and part of Picardy, and they should endeavour to supply it by the Harbours of Ostend and Newport; they will however undergo infinite Inconveniences to carry on that Trade, and thereby render their Commodities unmarketable, by reason of the Expence of Carriage that will be treble, and by the treble Customs and Duties they must pay, viz. to the House of Austria upon their Entrance into those Harbours, to the Dutch in their Passage to Furnes, Ipres, Menin, and other Towns in their Possession, and to the King their Entrance into his Dominions: Whereas by entering those four Provinces by the way of Dunkirk the Expence for Carriage will be small, by reason of the Conveniency of Canals, and they shall only pay the single Duty of Importation to the King.

Fifthly, By the Treaty of Commerce concluded between Your Majesty, and His most Christian Majesty, the Tariff of 1671 has been preserved in the conquered Countries. This Tariff is far more favourable than that of 1664, which is to be observed in all the other Harbours on the Western Coast of France, and consequently the Commerce of Your Majesty's Subjects is very much concern'd in the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk, since that Harbour, will make enjoy the Benefit

of that Tariff for all the Commodities they shall import there for the Consumption of the Provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, whereas if the same Merchandizes be imported by other Harbours, they must pay the Duties according to the Tariff of 1664.

Sixthly, To confirm to Your Majesty how advantageous the Harbour of Dunkirk is to the Trade of Your Majesty's Subjects, the Sieur Tugghe has the Honour to present to Your Majesty a List of Two Hundred and Eighteen English Ships, which from the ^{16th} of August, 1712. to the ^{23rd} of May, 1713. have come into that Harbour, and unloaded their Cargoes there to the Value of above Two Millions of French Livres, praying at the same time Your Majesty to observe first, That France being, during those Nine Months, in War with Holland, those Commodities could not be carried into the Austrian Provinces possess'd by the Dutch, and must have been vented and consumed only in the French Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, and that in Time of Peace the said Consumption, and consequently the Trade of England there, will very much encrease. Secondly, That as the Dunkirkers could not furnish in Return or Exchange for the Commodities imported there, during those Nine Months either any Manufactures or Commodities of their own Growth, because they have none, they were obliged to pay the whole Value of the same in Money, and must ever pay for them in same manner, which is a most considerable Advantage in all sorts of Traffick.

Seventhly, As it is not impossible that in process of time, there may happen some Rupture between Great Britain and Holland, so Great Britain in such a Conjunction, which God avert, will find it self entirely deprived of the Trade to French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Part of Picardy, since at such a time it will not be in the Power of Your Majesty's Subjects to carry on the said Trade by the Harbours of Ostend or Newport, not even under all the Inconveniences and Expences to which those Two Harbours do naturally subject them, because their Commodities could not from those Two Harbours be carried into the French Provinces, but by going through Places possess'd by the Dutch, who in all likelihood would not give them free Passage. Thus in such a Conjunction, at least the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk would be necessary for the Trade of Your Majesty's Subjects.

Eighthly, The Freedom of the Port and Town of Dunkirk, in case Your Majesty will vouchsafe to alter the severe Resolution

tion You have taken against its Mole and Dykes, will enable Your Majesty's Subjects to carry on their Commerce with more Conveniency than any other Nation in the Austrian Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant; in the French Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, Artois and Picardy; and even in Germany by the Staples and Store-houses they may erect there, and which will facilitate their answering the Demands of Commodities from all those respective Countries punctually, and at proper Times and Seasons.

Ninthly, Supposing that the Opposition which the Eighth and Ninth Articles of the Treaty of Commerce concluded by Your Majesty with France, has met with in the House of Commons of Your Parliament should take place, and destroy the Arguments above alledg'd in favour of the British Trade by the Way of Dunkirk, into the French Provinces; yet the Reasons relating to the said Commerce by the Way of Dunkirk, into the Austrian Low-Countries and into Germany, by means of a free Passage, without paying any Custom or Duties, would still subsist, and may suffice to let Your Majesty see, that the Preservation of that Harbour, with its bare Mole and Dikes, despoil'd of all manner of Fortifications, will not only be most beneficial and advantageous, but even absolutely necessary to the Trade of Great Britain.

Tenthly, All such as have any tolerable Skill in Navigation know that Ships that are at Sea, can never have under the Wind too many Places of Retreat, either to shelter themselves against Storms when they happen to fall into them, or to repair their Losses and refit after they have sustain'd ill Weather. The Harbour of Dunkirk is one of those desirable Retreats for Ships that sail to, or come home from the North Seas. And altho' the Coast of England affords many Places for Ships to put into, it may nevertheless happen oftentimes after the Demolition of the Mole and Dikes, for which the Magistrates of Dunkirk, beg Your Majesty's Mercy, that the Ships of Your Subjects may be so driven and Wind-bound by bad Weather on the Coast of Dunkirk, that being unable to reach their own Shoar, they will in vain regret, as well as all other Nations trading to the North, that Harbour of Safety, of which they shall be deprived; and avoid a bare Commiseration of the Danger to which Seafaring Men are expos'd, ought to have preserv'd for them, according to the common Dictates of Humanity.

Upon all these Considerations, that is, considering the small Damage which the Harbour of Dunkirk, despoil'd of all its Fortifications,

Fortifications, both on the Sea and the Land-side, may cause either to Your Majesty's Subjects, or to those of Your Allies; the Usefulness and Benefit which the Trade of Great Britain will find in the Preservation of the said Harbour in the manner above explain'd, And the unprofitable but ruinous Loss which the unfortunate Inhabitants of that Town will suffer by its Demolition, the Magistrates of Dunkirk and the Sieur Tugghe their Deputy presume to hope that Your Majesty will graciously be pleas'd to recal part of Your Sentence, by causing Your Thunderbolts to fall only on the Martial Works which may have incur'd Your Majesty's Displeasure, and by sparing only the Mole and Dikes, which in their naked Condition can, for the future, be no more than an Object of Pity. Nay, they shall even be an Eternal Monument of Your Majesty's Glory, since by incessantly Reminding the Beholders of the dreadful Ornaments of which they shall remain despoil'd by Your Majesty's Will alone, they will, at the same time, eternally preserve the Memory of Your Majesty's Clemency, which shall have bestow'd them on the Tears and Groans of the Inhabitants of that Town, overwhelm'd with Grief.

'Tis by those Tears and by those Groans, that the Magistrates, and their Deputy, humbly prostrate at the Feet of Your Majesty's Throne, no less Gracious than Dreadful, beg the Preservation of their Harbour, and beseech Your Majesty to vouchsafe to look with Eyes of Pity on Eighteen Thousand Families, who must be reduced to wander about, if by the entire and severe Execution of Your Majesty's Orders, they are forced to quit their Habitations to go and seek or rather beg their Bread.

Let not Your Majesty's ever beneficent Hand be th^e Instrument of their Misery and Dispersion! And let not the inhabitants of Dunkirk be the only People in the World th^t may complain of the Rigor of a Queen whose Wisdom and Clemency is adored by all the Earth.

My Indignation at this Usage of my Queen and Country, prompted me to write a Letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq; which I subcribed English Tory.

Mr. Ironside thereupon Prints my Letter Word for Word, and on August the 7th Publishes it with a short Preface, as follows:

IT is usually thought, with great Justice, a very impertinent thing in a private Man to intermeddle in Matters which regard the State. But the Memorial which is mentioned in the following Letter is so daring, and so apparently designed for the most Traiterous Purpose imaginable, that I do not care what Misinterpretation I suffer, when I expose it to the Resentment of all Men who value their Country, or have any Regard to the Honour, Safety, or Glory of their Queen. It is certain there is not much Danger in delaying the Demolition of *Dunkirk* during the Life of his present most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable Regard to Treaties; but that Pious Prince is aged, and in case of his Decease, now the Power of *France* and *Spain* is in the same Family, it is possible an Ambitious Successor, (or his Ministry in a King's Minority) might dispute his being bound by the Act of his Predecessor in so weighty a Particular.

Mr. IRONSIDE,

YOU employ your important Moments, methinks, a little too frivolously, when you consider so often little Circumstances of Dress and Behaviour, and never make mention of Matters wherein you and all your Fellow-Subjects in general are concerned. I give you now an Opportunity, not only of manifesting your Loyalty to your Queen, but your Affection to your Country, if you treat an Insolence done them both with the Disdain it deserves. The enclosed Printed Paper in *French* and *English* has been handed about the Town, and given gratis to Passengers in the Streets at Noon-Day. You see the Title of it is, *A most humble Address or Memorial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk.* The nauseous Memorialist, with the most fulsome Flattery, tells the Queen of her Thunder, and of Wisdom and Clemency adored by all the Earth, at the same time that he attempts to undermine her Power, and escape her Wisdom, by beseeching her to do an A& which would give a well-grounded Jealousie to her People. What the Sycophant desires is, that the Mole and Dikes of *Dunkirk* may be spared; and, it seems, the Sieur *Tugghe*, for so the Petitioner is called, was Thunderstruck by the Denunciation (which he says) the *Lord Viscount Bolinbroke* made to him, That her Majesty did not think

think to make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence she had pronounced against the Town. Mr. Ironside, I think you would do an Act worthy your general Humanity, if you would put the Sieur Tugghe right in this Matter, and let him know, That her Majesty has pronounced no Sentence against the Town, but his most Christian Majesty has agreed that the Town and Harbour shall be Demolished.

That the British Nation expect the immediate Demolition of it.

That the very Common People know, that within two Months after the signing of the Peace, the Works towards the Sea were to be demolished, and within three Months after it the Works towards the Land.

That the said Peace was signed the last of March, O. S.

That the Parliament has been told from the Queen, that the Equivalent for it is in the Hands of the French King.

That the Sieur Tugghe has the Impudence to ask the Queen to remit the most material Part of the Articles of Peace between Her Majesty and his Master.

That the British Nation received more Damage in their Trade from the Port of Dunkirk, than from almost all the Ports of France, either in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean.

That Fleets of above thirty Sail have come together out of Dunkirk, during the late War, and taken Ships of War as well as Merchant Men.

That the Pretender sailed from thence to Scotland; and that it is the only Port the French have till you come to Brest, for the whole Length of St. George's Channel, where any considerable Naval Armament can be made.

That destroying the Fortifications of Dunkirk is an inconsiderable Advantage to England, in Comparison to the Advantage of destroying the Mole, Dykes and Harbour, it being the Naval Force from thence which only can hurt the British Nation.

That the British Nation expect the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk.

That the Dutch, who suffered equally with us from those of Dunkirk, were, probably, induced to Sign the Treaty

‘ Treaty with France from this Consideration, That the
‘ Town and Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be destroyed.

‘ That the Situation of *Dunkirk* is such, as that it may
‘ always keep Runners to observe all Ships sailing on the
‘ *Thames* and *Medway*.

‘ That all the Suggestions, which the Sieur *Tugghe* brings
‘ concerning the *Dutch*, are false and scandalous.

‘ That whether it may be advantageous to the Trade of
‘ *Holland* or not, that *Dunkirk* should be demolish'd, it is
‘ necessary for the Safety, Honour and Liberty of *England*
‘ that it should be so.

‘ That when *Dunkirk* is demolished, the Power of *France*,
‘ on that side, should it ever be turned against us, will be
‘ removed several hundred Miles further off of *Great Bri-*
‘ *tain* that it is at present.

‘ That after the Demolition there can be no considera-
‘ ble Preparation made at Sea by the *French* in all the
‘ Channel but at *Brest*; and that *Great Britain* being an
‘ Island, which cannot be attacked but by a Naval Power,
‘ we may esteem *France* effectually removed by the Demo-
‘ lition from *Great Britain* as far as the Distance from *Dun-*
‘ *kirk* to *Brest*.

‘ Pray, Mr. IRONSIDE, repeat this last Particular, and
‘ put it in a different Letter, *That the Demolition of Dunkirk*
‘ *will remove France many hundred Miles further off from*
‘ *us*; and then repeat again, *That the British Nation expects*
‘ *the Demolition of Dunkirk*.

‘ I Demand of you, as you Love and Honour your
‘ Queen and Country, that you insert this Letter, or speak,
‘ to this Purpose, your own way; for in this all Parties
‘ must agree, that however bound in Friendship one Na-
‘ tion is with another, it is but prudent, that, in case
‘ of a Rupture, they should be, if possible, upon equal
‘ Terms.

‘ Be Honest, old *NESTOR*, and say all this; for what-
‘ ever half-witted hot Whigs may think, we all value our
‘ Estates and Liberties, and every true Man of each Party
‘ must think himself concerned that *Dunkirk* should be De-
‘ molished.

‘ It lies upon all who have the Honour to be in the Mi-
‘ nistry to hasten this Matter, and not let the Credulity of an
‘ honest brave People be thus infamously abused in our open
‘ Streets.

‘ I cannot go on for Indignation; but pray God that
our Mercy to France may not expose us to the Mercy of
France.

Your humble Servant.

English Tory.

This Letter happened to disoblige some People, and the Day before I went out of Town came out the Pamphlet, Entituled,

The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the unexampled Insolence of the Author of the Guardian: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele. You may read the whole at your Leisure; but the Ninth and Tenth Pages are enough for Me, and I think there is nothing else in the whole Pamphlet but Repetition of the same thing.

See how the Villain treats the best of Sovereigns, the best Mistress to him, whose Bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal! Read it again, say they: Put it into English, said a Neighbour of mine to me, come make the best of it! then he reads the abominable Language as follows;

‘ The British Nation EXPECT, &c. And again, The British Nation EXPECT the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk. And a third time, with a Tone of threatening, The British Nation EXPECT it. See the Guardian, August 7, 1713.

I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be understood to be spoken to or pointed at the Queen, but to the People of Dunkirk, and I search'd the whole Paper for something to have brought you off with that way.

But it would not do, they laugh'd at me: How could it be spoken to him, say they? his Memorial is to the Queen, and if it should be directed to Monsieur Tugghe it would be still worse; for that woud be to talk thus to him, viz. What do ye Petition the Queen for? We tell you, The British Nation will not suffer it, the Queen dares not do it, for the British Nation EXPECT it be immediately Demolish'd. This stop'd my Mouth indeed, with respect to that part of the Excuse, and then they went on with me: Come, says my Neighbour, if you cannot put it into words, I'll do it for you.

The

The British Nation *EXPECT* the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk.

We all know Her Majesty has Possession of Dunkirk, and tho' the Work is to be done by the French, Her Majesty may appoint the Day. Now, says he, read the Words.

What is it but thus?

' Look you, Madam, Your Majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be Demolish'd, or else, &c.

And again;

' Madam! WE *EXPECT*, and we would have you take Notice that we expect it, that Dunkirk be Demolish'd, and that immediately.

Just thus an Imperious Planter at Barbadoes speaks to a Negro Slave, ' Look you, Sirrah, I expect this Sugar to be ground, and look to it that it be done forthwith. 'Tis enough to tell you I *EXPECT* it, or else, &c. and then he holds up his Stick at him, Take what follows.

The Examiner, in a Style quite as polite as that of this Pamphleteer, in his Paper of August the 21st has it thus,

' I believe I may challenge all the Nations of the World, and all the Histories of this Nation for a thousand Years past, to shew us an Instance so flagrant as what we have now before us, (viz.) When ever a Subject, nay a Servant under a Salary, and favoured in Spight of ill Behaviour past, with a considerable Employment in the Government, treated his Sovereign in such a manner as the GUARDIAN has done the Person of the Queen; and went Unpunished.

' If the Clemency of the Queen prevails to save such a Man; if her Majesty thinks it below Her to resent an Injury from so contemptible a Wretch, by so much the rather should every Subject resent it; and shew their Duty and Respect to their Sovereign, by trampling under their Feet the very Name and Memory of the Man that can have boldness enough to Insult his Prince in a Printed, and for that reason Scandalous, Libel, and can have INGRATITUDE enough to do it while he is eating Her Bread.

' How can any Man shew himself a faithful Subject to Her Majesty, and not resent such a piece of Conduct! to see a Subject hold up a Rod at his Prince! and openly threaten the Queen, if She does not cause Dunkirk to be demolished! to threaten Her Majesty with the Nations Resentment if it be not forthwith entered upon, and Command

mand Her to do it IMMEDIATELY; it ought to fill every faithful Subject with Abhorrence, and cause them either to shun the Man, or let him know they Detest his Behaviour.

' And yet *this Man* was never so dear to the *Whigs* as since he let them know that he durst assault his Queen; this has made him their Favourite, and one of their Authors has made his dull Panegyrick upon him already for it; while another Sett of them are endeavouring to get him chosen for the next Parliament, that he may carry on his Insult there, and obtain the *Honour*, as another of their haughty Leaders has already done, of being *expelled the House*.

' I have not Room to enlarge in this Case, as so unexampled a Piece of *Ingratitude* deserves; he has been handsomely, *only too favourably*, exposed in this very Case, by a Book just published, and which I recommend for that reason in the following Advertisement.

After this subjoins the following Advertisement.

The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the Unexampled Insolence of the Author of the GUARDIAN: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele. Printed for John Morphew near Stationers-Hall. Price 3 d.

On the 24th following he Rallies me again thus,
 ' For these Reasons, saving the Trespass on Custom, the LYF might be given in the Teeth of the *Guardian*, when he Insolently tells the Queen, in his late Seditious Libel, for such it must be accounted by every True Britain; That the British Nation EXPECTS the Immediate demolition of Dunkirk: I say it is not so; the British Nation does not EXPECT that Her Majesty should divest Her Self of the Power which is in Her Hands, by the Possession of Dunkirk, to do Her Self Right, and to secure to Her Self the Performance of such Conditions from all the Princes concerned, as they have agreed to be just and ought to be performed; but which we do not find them so free to execute, as the Obligations Britain has laid on them has given us reason to expect.

' It might, with much more Duty to Her Majesty, and Justice to our Country, have been said, That the British Nation

* Nation HOPES Her Majesty will not part with *Dunkirk*,
 * nor suffer it to be demolished, till the Danger of any Fo-
 reign Power, insulting Her Subjects, be removed; till the
 * Commerce, and Privileges of Her Subjects of *Great Bri-*
 * *tain*, shall be effectually secured; and till there shall be no
 * danger of the Incroachments and Invasions of any Nation,
 * *not France only*, but other Powers as well as *France*; for
 * I must be allow'd, with these Gentlemen's Pardon, to sup-
 pose that there are Dangers to be expected from other
 * Powers in the World, as well as *France*, especially Dan-
 gers to our Trade; and these Dangers are the greater, by
 * how much we find the *Whigs* forward to give up our
 * Trading-Interest to the *Dutch*, in order to make Friends
 * with them in their other nameless Designs against the Mi-
 nistry.

* Those then who have a true Concern for the Good
 * of *Great Britain*, would be very sorry to see *Dunkirk*
 * put out of her Majesty's Power, till every just Thing,
 * which the keeping it can be a Means to secure to us, be
 * obtain'd.

* I might be more particular, in letting the World see
 * what these Things are which *Britain* ought to obtain
 * from the neighbouring Powers; and which *Dunkirk* is so
 * far a Pledge for, that it ought to remain in Her Majesty's
 * Hands 'till they are obtained: But as this is preparing by
 * another Hand, and will be set in a clearer Light, to the
 * Confusion of the *Guardian* and all his Factious Party, I
 * shall say no more to it here.

After this He repeats the following Advertisement.

To Morrow will be publish'd a Second Edition of
The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the Unexampled Insolence of the Author of the GUARDIAN: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele. Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. Price 3d.

You have now my Letter to the *Guardian*, with what the Writers of the Pamphlet, and the *Examiner*, have been pleased to say upon it, at one view.

In Order to my Justification, I shall show more accurately the Advantages the Nation might reap from the Demolition, which

which will appear by Considering what Part of our Trade has and may be annoy'd by *Dunkirk*.

The Port of *London* is allowed to carry Two Parts in Three, or Six Parts in Nine, of the Foreign Trade of *England*. We may give one Ninth to the Ports on the *South Coasts* of this Island, which *South Coast* is opposite to the *North Coast* of *France*; the Sea between which is what we call the *Channel*.

The *East End* of this, on our Side, is the *North Foreland*, which stands opposite to *Newport* in *Flanders*; the *West End*, on our Side, is the *Land's End*, overagainst *Urbant*, or *Brest* in *France*; they allow one Ninth of the Trade to the *East Coast* washed by the *German Ocean*; and the other Ninth to the *West Coast*, which looks on the *Irish Seas*; in this Computation, it is presumed, there is not any great Disproportion, except from *Bristol's* lying on the *West Coast*, the said *West Coast* ought to be allowed more than one Ninth.

Dunkirk is from the *South Foreland* about Thirteen Leagues, and the Course from *Dunkirk* to the *Foreland West, North-West*, to the Entrance of the River *Thames*, is *North-West* about twenty Leagues; so that any Easterly Wind, which carries our Ships down the *Channel*, at the same time brings those of *Dunkirk* to meet and intercept them: The *French* have very frequently this last War reaped the Advantage of this Situation, by surprising many rich Ships, and taking others as they lay at Anchor in the *Downs*; when the *French* are dispossessed of *Dunkirk*, the dread and danger of their Men of War, of any considerable Force, will be removed as far as *Brest*, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues, or three hundred and sixty Miles; and that of their Privateers, of any Consideration, as far as *St. Malo's*, which is seventy eight Leagues, or two hundred and thirty four Miles.

Brest lies without the *Channel*, under this great Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Wind which carries our Trade down the *Channel*, prevents the Ships of *Brest* from coming into it.

The *East End* of the *Channel* which is so much exposed to *Dunkirk* is but seven Leagues broad, and gives an Enemy an Opportunity of seeing our Ships from Side to Side.

The *West* End of the Channel, for which the greatest Fears are from *Brest*, is twenty eight Leagues broad, and of course, there is at that End a greater Chance of escaping the Enemy.

If Ships from *Brest* are appointed to Way-lay our Ships in the Channel, they must take the Opportunity of Westerly Winds, to come into it; and wait the coming of an Easterly Wind to carry our Ships down it; by this means they must all that time be at Sea, exposed to all Dangers for want of a Port in which to Harbour their Men of War, or return to *Brest*, which they cannot do with the Wind that brought them out.

We must add to this, that if the French from *Brest* should be hovering to the Eastward of *Plimouth*, they are between two Fires, from those Ships in the *Downs*, and those from *Plimouth*; and our Ships from *Portsmouth* may chase them either Way, while they are way-laid at each End of the Channel by the others, not having the Port of *Dunkirk*, or any other in the Channel, to afford them Shelter. Thus, should they be chased up the Channel by a too great Force, before they can return to *Brest*, they must either run into the *German* Ocean, and wait another Opportunity of coming down again, with the Hazard of meeting all our Men of War; or else sail *North* about *Great Britain*, which is at least 550 Leagues more than they need have sailed, with the Port of *Dunkirk* to fly to.

This Want of *Dunkirk* will expose them to the same Inconvenience, to which the Fear of it often obliged our running Ships from the South Parts of the World, as well as our *East-India* Men, during the late War: To this Distress you are to add Wages, Provision, loss of Time, and the dangerous Navigation of the *North Seas*.

From hence it plainly appears, that by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, in case of a Rupture with *France*, Six Parts in Nine of our Trade, from the Port of *London*, is 330 Miles removed from the Hazards of the last War; and tho' part of this must be exposed when it passes through the Choppes, or Western Entrance of the Channel, it must be considered, that this it was also liable to before, besides the Terrors of *Dunkirk*, and that this is only the Southern Trade; and all that go to *Holland*, *Hamborough*, and other Northern Countries, will be quite out of Danger.

The Ninth of our Trade on the *East Coast*, would be still safer.

From these distinct Considerations, you observe only one Ninth of the Trade on the *Irish Seas* and *Bristol Channel*, and part of the other Ninth in the Coast of the Channel (to come at which they are in danger from *Porsmouth* to *Plimouth*) is the whole of the *British Trade*, which after the Demolition of *Dunkirk* will lye open to the Assaults of the *French*. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* will in a great Measure secure seven Ninths of the Trade of *England*, from the Power of *France* at Sea, the *French* having no Port in the Channel but *St. Malo's*, which can harbour any great Ships, and that it self can receive none which exceeds thirty or forty Guns. *Brest* lies thirty five Leagues from the Lizard Point, which is the nearest Land of *England*; their Ships must have an Easterly Wind to come out, and that will serve them no farther than to the Choppes of the Chanuel, because it blows directly down it.

The Course to go from *Brest* to cruize off the Lizard Point in order to annoy Us, is first, *West* about 13 Leagues, and then *North* or *North* and by *East* about 30 Leagues more, except they run the Hazard of going within the Island of *Ushant*, which is not practised, and therefore may be supposed Impracticable.

In the last Place, our Charge in defending our selves from such Annoyance as we formerly had from *Dunkirk* will decrease in Proportion to the removal of the Danger.

Such is the Importance of the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, with regard to the Trade of *England* only; and in the present Conjunction, I think we ought to have something more than the Mercy of his most Christian Majesty, to render the forbearing such Demolition less Hazardous to our Religion and Liberty; and yet you see, how criminal a Thing, it is to say, The *British Nation* EXPECT the Demolition of it.

It is evident that the Letter to the *Guardian*, subscribed *English Tory*, could have no Prospect but to do Honour and Service to Her Majesty and Her Subjects; The Sieur *Tugghe* himself acknowledges that he has received an Answer from the Queen, by Her Secretary of State, with a

Negative to his Petition ; upon which here appears a Memorial in Print, expostulating with Her upon that Subject, and laying before Her the Distresses of a Crowd of helpless People, whose Misfortunes are to be attributed to Her, if she shall think fit, in behalf of Her own Subjects, to insist upon the Execution of what is stipulated by Treaty : The Sieur *Tugghe* may insinuate, that it is unmerciful in the Queen to deny his Request, without being taken Notice of ; but I must not defend my Sovereign's Refusal from the Imputation of Cruelty, without being said, to Insult Her Prerogative. My Adversaries argue, That it is in Her Majesty's Power to forward or delay the Demolition as she pleases ; be that as it will. Do not I do as a faithful Subject, to insist that she does no Cruelty if she pleases to Demolish it ?

The Sieur *Tugghe* is not contented with this Arrogance, but has so little an Opinion of our *English* Statesmen, that he pretends to instruct our Sovereign, and Her Council, in what Political Views they ought to have upon this Occasion : But least his Assertions may prevail upon that numerous part of Mankind, which has a great while taken every Thing upon Content, I shall have the Patience to run through all he gives us as Arguments for our saving *Dunkirk*, and with the same Tautology ; and when He repeats the same Thing, repeat also what I have said against it. To proceed then like a Man of great Gravity and Business.

In Answer to the SIEUR's First.

First, **D**unkirk was the Dread of the *Dutch* Trade in time of War, but cannot be the Object of Jealousy of the *Dutch* with respect to their Trade to *Germany* and the *Austrian Low-Countries*, because *Newport* and *Graveling* (which are capable of receiving as large Ships as ever are used in that Trade by us) can supply those Countries with the same Ease ; of course *Dunkirk* is not the only Harbour on this Coast useful to that Trade : As for securing the *Scheld*, that River was many Years before the two last Wars with *France* possess'd by the *Dutch*, who Command the Entrance of it

it by Fort *Lillo*, which prevents all Foreign Ships from passing up. Nay, so far are they from permitting Foreigners, that none of their own Sea-ships, above the Bulk of Schuyts or Billanders, which we call Smacks and Hoys, are ever allowed to go beyond that Fort. Mr. *Tuggbe* supposes Us to a most notorious degree Ignorant of common Geography, when he asserts that *Dunkirk* is the only Port from *Ostend Westwadt*, by which Commodities can be brought into the Provinces of the *Austrian Low-Countries* and *Germany*. There runs from *Calais* a Navigable River to *Graveling*, the River of *Graveling* runs to *St. Omer*; from the *East* Side of this River run two Canals, one through *Bourbourg* to *Dunkirk*, the other directly to *Winoxberg*: There is a Canal from *Dunkirk* to *Furnes*, and another from *Winoxberg* to the same Place; from *Furnes* the Canal runs to *Newport*, and from thence to *Ostend* and *Bruges*; from their Canals and Rivers the Countries of French *Flanders*, *Hainault*, and *Picardy*, have their Water Carriage; nor is there any Carriage from *Dunkirk* to the *Rhine*, *Lys*, or *Scheld*, but through the same Streams, except by open Sea; so that *Ostend*, *Newport*, *Graveling*, and *Calais*, have the same Water Carriage which *Dunkirk* has to any Inland Country, or any Place in the World. What Trade had we through *Dunkirk*, before, or during the two last Wars? we can have no Trade through *Dunkirk* (but to the French Territories) which we had not in the last Wars from other Harbours.

As to the Sieur's *Second*, We always carry'd on our Trade to the *Austrian Netherlands* through *Ostend* and *Newport*, since the Dutch got Possession of the *Scheld*, the same Conveniency we shall have still; nor can the Port of *Dunkirk*, being left open, be any ease of Charges on our Trade, or give us a nearer Passage; neither can the Demolition in the least obstruct our Trade, because our Commodities will still pass through the same Inland Waters, which they must if they are sent through *Dunkirk*. If it is easie for Her Majesty to obtain from the King a free Passage Custom-Free for all Commodities from *England*, through *Dunkirk*, to the *Austrian Low-Countries*, she may with the same ease Obtain the same through his other Ports. It will be good News to hear he makes no difficulty of granting such a Request, because by the same Rule,

Rule, Her Majesty may obtain an Alteration in favour of Her Subjects in the Treaty of Commerce, which has been disprov'd by the Parliament.

If we should at any time be prevented sending our Trade to the *Austrian Low-Countries*, any other way than through his Dominions, he will then find us under the Necessity of carrying it on this Way, and demand Toll in a manner suitable to his great Power and Force; and how shall we deny it him?

If he should grant us this Passage Custom-free, it may be bought too dear; for if we dismantle the Town, and leave the Ports undemolish'd, it is in his Power to take Possession of it again at Pleasure, and in case of another War we shall be as much annoy'd in our Trade as we were in the two last, and the Town can be easily Re-fortified; he may have a very good View in this: But really I would not have him run the Risque of it, tho' it may prove so much for his Advantage; for we all know the *Dutch* are a fly People, and if the Town should be dismantled, and the Port left open, they may come and get the Possession of it, and fortifie it again for their own Use, which I know, out of the great Concern he has for us, and the Welfare of our Trade, he would be utterly against.

As to his *Third*, It is a false Assertion to say that there is no other Port serviceable to the Trade of French Flanders, *Hainault*, *Artois*, or *Picardy*, for there are many useful to this Trade, *Ostend*, *Newport*, *Graveling*, and *Calais*, whose Waters run into the same Canals that that of *Dunkirk* does, besides *Boulogne*, *Eftaples*, *St. Valery* and *Diep*; for the Trade to *Picardy*, all these Ports are capable of receiving as large Vessels as ever we made use of in this Trade, which are from 20, 60 or 100 Tuns at most.

As to the Sieur's *Fourth*, It is well known the Trade may be profitably carried on by other Places than *Dunkirk*; and an Ease of Charge for so inconsiderable a part of our Trade is not to be mentioned, in Competition with the hazard of so great a part as, on a Rupture with *France*, that Place can molest; the rest of this Article is already answer'd, because other Ports can convey our Trade to any Place that *Dunkirk* can.

As to Mr. Deputy's *Fifth*, If the Treaty of Commerce has preserved the Tariff of 1671 in the Conquer'd Countries, it is preserv'd to *Graveling*, and other Ports there, as well as *Dunkirk*.

As to the Sieur's *Sixth*, The Stress he lays on the List of 218 Ships which was printed in the *Mercator* No 29, with their Cargoes, has no Weight in it, because those Ships might have gone to the Neighbouring Ports; he is also unjust in arguing from that List, that the Trade of *England* there will very much Increase: Whoever looks over the *Mercator*, will find that their Loading consisted chiefly of Food and Firing, the whole he values at two Millions of French Livres; the Coals indeed they may always take, as they will other Commodities that Necessity obliges them to, and which they have not of their own Growth or Manufacture, but a constant Market of this kind is not to be expected; it is not to be supposed, because they took these Quantities of Corn and Provisions of us in their late famish'd Condition, that they will do the same when they have plentiful Crops, and this whole Sum is but 100,000*l.* *Sterling*, of which the Provisions amount to at least 3 Quarters. Their Trade to us standing in a manner upon the Foot of a Prohibition, they could not well pay us any otherwise than with ready Money; but if the Treaty of Commerce should pass, and the Port of *Dunkirk* remain as it is, the *Dunkirkers* will soon find Commodities to supply us with, tho' they have none of their own Growth. Mr. *Tugghe* does not do us Justice in this part of the Memorial, because he omitted to tell us of the Combination of Merchants, who made our People take their own Prices for our Goods, which were sold to Loss, rather than to bring them back again through the Risque of the Seas, and to run the Danger of their being Damaged, and of their Perishing. There might be other Observations made from their want of Corn, of the Advantage we might have taken of their Low Condition.

As to this Agent's *Seventh*, Mr. *Tugghe* with great Piety and Charity towards us, prays to God to avert a War between us and *Holland*, and represents a great many Dangers in it in regard to our Trade with French *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Picardy*, which is already answer'd, because other Ports can supply them as well as *Dunkirk*.

Now

Now if we should turn the other side of the Matter, I wonder what Danger the Memorialist would represent us from another War with *France*.

As to the Sieur's *Eighth*, This Article is false, as is already proved; nor do we want him to teach us our Trade to *Germany*, who would perswade us it is our Interest to Trade thither through *Dunkirk* by Land-Carriage, whose Waters have not any Correspondence with the Rivers of *Germany*, and to erect Staples and Store-Houses, which would be a good Booty for the *French* in case of a Rupture; nor can we ever carry it on so safely or cheaply through Countries possessed by *France*, as we do through *Hamburg*, and other Places, by Water Carriage.

As to his *Ninth*, He has here the Insolence to call it a *severe Resolution* in the Queen to insist on the Demolition. This is objected to in *Answer 2.* but his Assertion, that it is absolutely Necessary to the Trade of *Great Britain*, is the Reverse of our Case.

As to the Memorialist's *Tenth*, It is necessary for all Ships to have a Lee-Port to lie to if they cannot get to Windward, or weather a Storm; but *All such as have any tolerable Skill in Navigation*, know, that our Ships keep their own Shoar abroad, as the *French* do theirs; and therefore the Port of *Dunkirk* is useless to us. I would fain know, what use our Ships had of that Port for above twenty Years last past. Mr. *Tuggbe*, I am sure, can tell us what *English* Ships ever refitted there, and how many ever repair'd Losses; all the World know there have been many Hundreds refitted there to annoy our own Country, and some Thousands suffer'd Losses there that were never repair'd. It is a most desirable Port for the Ships of *France*, but all *English* Ships have dreaded it for above twenty Years. The Publick Joy the News of its being to be Demolish'd created this Nation, is a convincing Argument, how much they will in vain Regret, as well as all other Nations trading to the Northward, that Harbour of Safety. It raises something more than Indignation to see a Magistrate of *Dunkirk*, sent to talk to the Queen of *Great Britain*, and dictate Rules of Humanity.

It will be a great Act of Humanity to insist upon the Demolition of that Town, which has destroyed so many Thousand of her Majesty's Subjects and their Ships.

This

This is all I have to say to my Foreign Enemy the Sieur Tugghe, and humbly recommending to his Most Christian Majesty the Care of the eighteen thousand Families, I take the liberty to repeat to him, that the *British* Nation expect the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. I am now to face about to my Domestick Foes, by whom I am accus'd of the Ingratitude of insulting my Prince, while I am eating her Bread.

Mr. Bailiff, It is so far otherwise, that to avoid the least Appearance of it, I did not attempt doing what proceeded from a true Grateful and Loyal Heart, (*viz.*) the laying before her Majesty's Ministry, that the Nation had a strict Eye upon their Behaviour with relation to *Dunkirk*; before I had resigned all, which their Interposition with her most Gracious Majesty, could take from me. I am so far from eating her Bread, with a Disinclination to her Service, that I had resigned a plentiful Income I had from her Favour, in a considerable Office and Pension, which incapacitate a Man of sitting in Parliament, to render my self more useful to Her and my Country, in the Station with which your Borough has since honoured me.

If he is an Enemy to the Prerogative, that is satisfied with what he has already received from his Prince, and gives up all Expectations of ever receiving more, with no other View, than serving his Prince and Country in a more eminent manner than when he enjoyed Employments; if such a Man, I say, is an Enemy, I am an Enemy: But the Author of the Letter from the Country-Whig personates that Character so awkardly, and the *Examiner*, without entering into the Point, treats me so outrageously; that I know not how to offer, against such Adversaries, Reason and Argument, without appearing void of both. However, since it has for some time been the Fashion to run down Men of much greater Consequence than I am, with general Terms, that fall in with the Prejudices and Corruptions of the People, I shall not bear in silence the Accusation of being in the least Degree undutiful to my Most Gracious Mistress, much less of assaulting Her Prerogative. These Writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their Brother-Scribler; but I shall not be so unconcern'd when they attack me as an honest Man: I shall therefore inform them,

that it is not in the power of a private and an indifferent Man to hurt the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown, without being punish'd, if the Ministry think fit, as he deserves, by the Laws of our Country ; but true and real Danger to the Queen's Honour may arise, if Persons in Authority tolerate Men (who have no Compunction of Conscience) in abusing such Instruments of Glory and Honour to our Country as the illustrious Duke of Marlborough, such wise and faithful Managers as the late Earl of Godolphin, such pious, disinterested, generous and self-denying Patriots as the Bishops.

There is no Man will deny, but that it is in the power of the Ministry to call the *Examiner* to an Account, as well as the *Flying-Post*. It is not for me to enter into the Reasons why they do not do themselves that Justice; but where is Honour, where is Government, where is Prerogative, while neither Age nor Sex, Virtue nor Innocence, can have any Redress from the Assaults made upon their Reputation, which is dearer than Life? but such Injuries the *Examiner* repeats every week with Impunity. But after I have fully answered the specious Pretension of Monsieur Tugghe, concerning the Trade, and vindicated my Sovereign from his treacherous Insinuation, That it would be want of Mercy in Her to insist on the Demolition of Dunkirk; it is incumbent on me to come more closely to the Point with the Pamphleteer, and the *Examiner*. The former says, in his 17th Page, *Why must the Queen be attacked with such Insolence, and be told, in terrorem, that the People of Great Britain expect Dunkirk shall be demolished?*

The *Examiner*, as above, puts the stress of his Argument on the same words in the *Guardian*, of whom he says,

' For these Reasons, saving the Trespass on Custom, the
 ' LYB might be given in the Teeth of the *Guardian*,
 ' when he insolently tells the Queen, in his late seditious
 ' Libel, for such it must be accounted by every true Briton,
 ' That the British Nation EXPECTS the immediate De-
 ' molition of Dunkirk: I say, it is not so; the British Na-
 ' tion does not EXPECT that Her Majesty should divest
 ' Herself of the Power which is in her Hands, by the Pos-
 ' session of Dunkirk, to do Herself Right, and to secure
 ' to Herself the Performance of such Conditions from all
 ' the Princes concerned, as they have agreed to be just,
 ' and

* and ought to be performed ; but which we do not find
them so free to execute, as the Obligations Britain has
laid on them has given us reason to expect.*

Both these great Authors lay the weight of the Accusation, upon saying, the British Nation expects ; you see the difference of a Man's Condition who acts under the Laws of his Country in general, from his, who acts only under the Prerogative.

Here is a Treaty concluded ; I am reckoned disrespectful, because I say, the Nation EXPECTS the Conditions to be complied with ; he is a very loyal Man, who says, the Nation does not EXPECT it : but this wary Politician, the Examiner, says, *There are Dangers to be expected from other Powers in the World, as well as France* ; he observes the Whigs forward to give up our trading Interest to the Dutch, in order to make Friends with them in their other nameless Designs against the Ministry.

What has been already said to Monsieur Tuggé, concerning the Advantages the Dutch may reap from the Demolition, is also an Answer to the Examiner : All reasonable Men know, that the Dutch can reap no Advantage, but what must flow from their Industry, and our Negligence ; but the Power of France cannot only rival us in Trade, but also when the King pleases (which is mentioned as a thing possible, not probable) invade us again with the Pretender, from the very same Place whence he last set out to visit us, when we have no Troops to defend us, no Allies to succour us : When I think of these things with Horror, from the Love I bear my Sovereign and my Country, they say, I offend the Prerogative. Authors who write for the Prerogative, if they acted like Men of Honour, should be alarm'd at the improper Application of it by a Ministry, as much as by any other Acts of their Fellow-Subjects.

It is the Prerogative of the Crown to create Peers of England ; but if in the midst of a Question in the Legislature, half a dozen new ones should march in, and by their Votes turn a Point, upon which our All might depend, would the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown be equally consulted at that Instant ?

It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Peace and War, shall the Crown therefore lay down its conquering Arms, and deliver it self up to the Vanquish'd ? A Man

is born with Free-will ; does it therefore follow, that it is lawful to kill himself ?

It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Alliances, and act in conjunction with their Allies ; shall therefore its Armies march with them, in Confidence and Friendship, till they come to Front the Enemy, and then Face about, and leave them in the Day, in the Moment of Distress ?

But it is a Folly to put Cases, which I hope will never happen among us ; for if they should, the Persons who should transact any thing like any such things as I have now mentioned, would be so far from considering the Honour of the Prince, that they would diminish and blast it ; and be so far from being a Support to, that they would be a Rent-Charge upon the Prerogative.

The true Meaning and Use of the Prerogative, is to be interpreted and understood by the Rules of the joint Welfare and Happiness of Prince and People ; and all great Genijs's in Busines, in all Nations and in all Ages, have apply'd it in this manner.

But from the Example of all Nations, who have lost their Liberty, we see that when, for the Sins of a Nation, Men of poor and narrow Conceptions, Self-interested, and without Benevolence to Mankind, have had the use of their Princes Favour and Prerogative, they think only what they may do, not what they ought to do.

All that I have at present to complain of, is, that the Defence of my Queen and Country, and of the most valuable part of our Trade, is treated as an Offence against the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown : I am heartily sorry to hear the word Prerogative introduced with so much Pomp against so inconsiderable a Man as my self, or, in the *Examiner's* words, *against so contemptible a Wretch*. If this word Prerogative comes to be used to frighten Men from speaking what they lawfully may upon publick Occurrences, it may come to pass hereafter, that it may be a Refuge to indiscreet Ministers, and they may in time to come protect their Miscarriages under that aweful Word.

It would follow, that whatever should be painful or disagreeable to the People, would be imputed to the Prince ; whatever should be pleasing, would be attributed to the Ministry. Ministers would not fail to cover their Follies, or Injuries, under the shelter of the Prerogative. What was

was urged concerning *Dunkirk*, in the Letter to the *Guardian*, was apparently and professedly laid before the Ministry, that they might not be unmindful of what the British Nation expect from them. I say again and again, if once Men are so intimidated as not to dare to offer their Thoughts upon publick Affairs, without incurring the Imputation of offending against the Prerogative of their Prince; that Prince, whatever Advantage his Ministers might make of his Prerogative, would himself soon have no Prerogative, but that of being deceived. As for my part, I have that sincere and faithful Duty to Her Majesty, that I will never fear to attempt any thing that I am able for her Service, however her Favour may be intercepted from me. The *Examiner* accuses me of Ingratitude, as being actually under Salary, when I writ the Letter to the *Guardian*; but he is mistaken in that Particular, for I had resign'd, not only my Office in the Stamt Duties, but also my Pension as Servant to his late Royal Highnes, which her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the whole Family of that Excellent Prince: I divested my self of all that I was so happy to enjoy by Her Majesty's Goodnes and Favour, before I would presume to write any thing, which was so apparently an Advertisement to those employ'd in her Service.

I have thrown away all Expectations of Preferment for the Happiness of serving in Parliament, and for the hopes of having a Vote in the Legislature, in the present Great Crisis of Affairs: As long as I enjoy this Station (from which the *Examiner* takes the liberty to suggest I shall be expell'd) I shall follow no Leader or Leaders, but Act, that is to say, Vote, according to the Dictates of my Conscience, in the publick Service. But I have said, *The British Nation Expect*: What is there in that of Insolence and Ingratitude to a Queen and a Benefactress? Nay, What is there in it more or less, the Premisses in my Letter being consider'd, than the Duty of a Faithful and a Grateful Subject? Some of the Queen's immediate Servants are told by their Fellow-Subject, that it lies upon all that have the Honour to be in the Ministry to hasten the Demolition, for the sake of the Queen, and all her faithful Subjects. What, are Majesty and Ministry consolidated, and must the People of *Great Britain* make no distinction between the one and the other? We very well know

Know the Difference, Sir, and humbly conceive, that if a whole Ministry were impeach'd and condemn'd by the People of Great Britain in Parliament, for any notorious Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust, the Prince could not suffer by it. But such is the Hardiness of these sort of Writers, that the Honour, the Interest, nay, the Person and Prerogative of the Sovereign, is communicated to, and confounded with the Ministry ; and those that by Law are accountable for all Wrongs done to the Publick, must be skreen'd and protected under the Sacred and Incommunicable Character and Attributes of one, that by Law can do no Wrong. But for Argument sake, I will suppose those words, *The British Nation Expect the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk*, were address'd immediately to the Queen : With what Propriety or Honesty of speaking, can a Man who utters them be call'd Insolent or Ingrate ? He sees and apprehends with his own Eyes and Understanding, the imminent Danger that attends the Delay of the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; which perhaps others, whose greater Concern it is, do not : and the thing not being done, by the Care of those under whose immediate Direction it is, but overlooked, (for suffering, without Animadversion upon it, *Tugghe's Memorial* publish'd in Print, is that or worse) after all the Obstacles that could have prevented it on the part of *France*, as Her Majesty has been pleas'd to tell her People, have been remov'd ; an honest, tho a mean Man, gives Her Majesty to understand, in the best method he can take, and from the Sincerity of a grateful Heart, *That the British Nation Expects the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk*; and the Reasons he gives for such Expectations are no less cogent, than the Preservation of Her Sacred Person, Her Crown and Dignity, and the Safety and Welfare of the People committed to her Charge. He considers the Queen, in this case, as the Head of the Constitution of his Country : He considers himself, as a Member of the Community represented in Parliament, whether one of the Representative Body, or no : He knows Britons, by their Birth-right, are a part of the Legislature ; and knows too, that the Executive Power is a Prerogative or Peculiar vested in the Head of the Constitution, for the Good of the whole ; that it attends the Crown, Honour and Dignity, and not the Will and Pleasure, or, it may be, Passion of the Prince ; and as an Evidence

dence of it, is Immortal, and ceases not, when the Persons of our Princes are gathered to their Fathers : He knows too that all Treaties are made, and War and Peace entered into, for the common Good : and in an Instance, respecting the present Exigence, which he apprehends to be absolutely necessary for that End, with a zealous and honest Mind, and the warmest Concern for the fatal Consequences that may ensue the Defect of it, tells the Mother of his Country, *That the British Nation expects the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk* : Expects it, from the Duty they owe their Queen ! from their Care of the Preservation of Her Sacred Life, Her Crown and Dignity ! from the Honour and Justice of Her Administration ! from the Integrity of Her Councils ! from the glorious Advantages of Her Arms ! from the Faith and Sincerity of Her Treaties ! from the Veneration and Regard due to Her from his Most Christian Majesty, and from the Duty they owe themselves and their Posterity ! And is this Insolence and Ingratitude ?

My Adversaries are so unjust, as they will not take the least notice of what led Me into the necessity of writing my Letter to the *Guardian*. They know if they stated it honestly, they must acknowledg, that instead of what they call me, I was a faithful Servant to the Queen, and an honest Fellow-Subject to the Ministry. My Lord *Bolingbroke* tells the Sieur *Tugghe*, as a Secretary of State from the Queen, That his Request cannot be complied with : the Sieur prints a Memorial, which is no other than an Appeal to all the weak People in *England*, against Her Severity. Nay, if the Translator has done him Justice, he has used the very word *Severe*. This I take for the utmost Insult against the Queen, and her Ministry ; and instead of allowing my Zeal, I am publickly bereft of the Protection the Ministry should afford me, and all honest Men, in the performance of their Duty ; and Partizans, who pretend to write for them, use me accordingly. I am not so born with, even when I am for them : But I deserve well of them in this Question about *Tugghe*, or else they are not so angry, as I am, at what *Tugghe* has done against their Queen.

Good God ! does this Creature, this *Tugghe*, come out of his Country, who writ that pious Letter to the Bishop of *Paris*, wherein Leavings of Fear made his most Christian

stian Majesty forgot his Politicks, and (as if he had seen an Hand of Providence was in it, to his Favour, and our Misfortune) acknowledg he owed his very Kingdom to the Suspension of the English Arms? Does this very Potentate leave to the Burghers of Dunkirk to send soine Body to treat about abating an Article of a Treaty, with the Glorious and Puissant Queen of Great Britain!

Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the Streets of Ashkelon!

We know not what is the Equivalent for Dunkirk, but according to the Circumstances of France, before the Suspension of the English Arms, under the gallant Duke of Ormond (who would certainly have done his Duty) the French King has owned that the Equivalent might have been Paris.

When such was our Case, and such is our Case, some Men lately preferred, and grown too Delicate, would have Men of liberal Education, that know the World as well as themselves, afraid, for fear of offending them in their new Clothes, to speak when they think their Queen and Country is ill treated.

While I am upon this Subject, I am glad to observe, that there are others who take up the same Argument; and my Servant has just now brought me a printed half Sheet, Entitled, *A Letter to the Guardian, about Dunkirk.* With a great deal of very apt Raillery, upon the Madness of the Times, he pleasantly imagines our Language is altered of late Years; particularly in the words *Good, Safe, Honourable, Advantageous, England, France, Trade, Commerce.* He makes the *Examiner* the Mint-Master for the New Tongue, and then proceeds in a more serious and close manner, to argue on the side of the English Tory's Letter. He speaks of the *Examiner* in these Words:

" Nor are his new Politicks any better than his new Language; he tells us, that the keeping Dunkirk undemolish'd in our Hands, is our Security against all the Princes concerned besides France; i. e. against the Confederates, as well as against France. It may be a Security against the Confederates, but while it is so, it cannot be a Security against France. France can neither apprehend, nor feel any Mischief from it, whilst it is a Bridle against the Confederates. The Reason is plain, France has it in its Power to Demolish it when it will. The IXth Article says,

says, *France* is to Demolish it in so many Months time ; those Months are expir'd, and therefore *France* can demolish it when it will : And whenever *France* apprehends any Danger from *Dunkirk undemolish'd*, it will demolish it immediately. 'Tis therefore plainly for the Good and Interest of *France*, that *Dunkirk* is undemolish'd. What, do we think we have made a Tool of *France* ?

Upon the whole matter, if there were no other Reason, Argument, or Motive in the World, for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, but the Content and Easiness of *France* in seeing it not demolished, it were sufficient to move an honest *Englishman* to hope, and wish, and pray, that it might be immediately demolish'd ; and that some other Bridle might be found out to keep in the Confederates, than that, which is in the *French* Dominions, and may, whenever *France* pleases, (let us talk what we will) be in the *French* Hands. What if *Dunkirk* should be besieged, can the poor *British Garrison* defend it ? Shall we raise an Army to recover it ? *Dunkirk undemolished* may be lost, taken, betrayed, and got again into the Hands of *France*. *Dunkirk demolished* is a Fisher-Town again, and can do no harm.

This Gentleman argues *France* has a Power, but I say, what is more with all honest Men, *France* has a Right to demolish it ; and who shall resist it, when the great King of *France* has both Power and Right to demolish it ? But alas ! who knows how long it will be in his Majesty's Will to do it ?

I cannot forbear wishing he had deposited the Mony in our Hands, before our Suspension of Arms, for the Demolition. I could name proper Persons, that would have been gladly employed in that Work, and some of them are begging in our Streets.

The King at that time was low enough, if *England* had stood out, to have granted that Demand ; but it is an human Weakness not to preserve so lively a Sense of a past Benefit, as we had at the instant of receiving it. It was thought an hard Article to desire him to Dethrone his Grandson, tho he had sent him to take, what we then believ'd, another Man's Country : suppose he should, tho he has put it into other Peoples Possession, at last take Compassion of his own Town ?

It has cost, to put it in its present Condition, above Six Millions; and it would go to a Man's Heart to part with what cost so dear: but he is bound by Treaty, and he must do it, if he pleases.

BUT as there is this Letter published on my side, there is another Pamphlet come out on the *Examiner's*. It is Entitled, *Reasons concerning the immediate Demolishing of Dunkirk; being a serious Enquiry into the State and Condition of that Affair*. I like this Man better than any of the rest, for he does not give me ill Language, till he gives his Reasons why I deserve it. He talks very kindly thus in the fourteenth Page :

' We can hardly express how much we are beholden in this Matter, to the *worthy Mr. Steele*, the Publisher of the *Guardian*, N°. 128. I will not be so unjust to him, as to call him the Author : who has effectually set us right in this Matter, and has rescued the Town and Harbour of *Dunkirk* from the depreciating Arts of our Party-Men; who, it was to be feared, would have brought it at last so low, that we might have been made believe, the King of *France*, if we should offer to give it him again, would not accept of it.

' But the *Guardian* has taken the Courage to do Justice to the *Dunkirkers*, and of consequence to the Ministry, in securing such a Place in the Possession of the Queen; for he has told us expressly, that to take *Dunkirk* from the *French*, is removing *France* two or three hundred Miles from us; that they have not any Port where they can fit out any Fleet till they come to *Brest*; that it is of the last Consequence to *Britain*, that it should no more be in the *French* Power; that the Injury we have received from them is Inestimable. His words follow :

' That when *Dunkirk* is demolished, the Power of *France*, on that side, should it ever be turned against us, will be removed several hundred Miles further off of Great Britain than it is at present. Vide *Guardian*, N°. 128.

' As this is an undoubted Testimony given to the Zeal of the Ministry, in taking hold of the present Conjuncture, to get that important Fortress into our Hands, and is the greatest and most just Panegyrick which Mr. Steele ever

ever made upon any great Action in the World; and which, no doubt, he did in Honour to the Queen, and the prefent Government; and that the said Mr. Steele has gained the just Approbation of all Her Majesty's good Subjects for so doing: so it is a fair Confutation of all those weak things which had been advanced by a Party among us, in Prejudice of the late Negotiations: But above all, that it is an unanswerable Argument against our too soon parting with, or too hastily Demolishing this important Place, which is of such Consequence to the Nation; and I cannot doubt, but Mr. Steele did it that Justice with this intent. For it is impossible a Man of his Penetration, and of his exquisite Politicks, could argue—— He grows in Jest here at last, for he knows as well as I do, that I am no great Politician; and I know what he is, perhaps, a little better than he thinks. But I shall treat him as the Man whom I suppose him to be, tho he has not me, as the Man he knows me to be. This Author you see, allows me (tho he did not think it was in me) to have done a laudable thing towards the Ministry, in my Representation of the great Service the Demolition of *Dunkirk* would be: but his Anger against me is raised for the Point of Time; Why must the Demolition be immediate? My Reasons are as follow:

First, We have no Right to keep it, but in order to the Demolition of it.

Secondly, The Time was lapsed, within which it was to be demolished.

But why did I say the *British* Nation expect it should be immediately demolished, when the *British* Parliament had granted Money to subsist the Garrison of Dunkirk till next Christmas.

This is no Argument that the *British* Parliament did not expect the immediate Demolition; but it is indeed an Argument that the Parliament had a good Confidence in the Ministry, and were unwilling to distress them: For if the Demolition had began the Day after the Parliament rose, it might honestly have been retarded by stress of Weather, and other Accidents, till a New Parliament should sit at *Christmas*; and if all things should have favoured, and the Demolition had been now perfected, my Lord

High Treasurer would stand chargeable to the Nation with the Mony for the Garison to *Christmas*.

As for what he says about our Allies, and something to be expected from them, I cannot comprehend what he means ; but whatever he means, and however just Demands we may have upon them, his most Christian Majesty will not think it any Reason for delaying the Demolition of a Town in his Dominions, in the hands of another Prince, for Reasons of State to that Prince, and not to his French Majesty himself.

Really this way of arguing is treating us like Children ; and as for the Allies, God be their Support, and grant we may all cement again in the Day of Distress. I think all the rest of the Book consists only of Invectives upon poor Me, as guilty of Insolence, Falshood, Sedition and Absurdity ; which is written well enough, and would be pretty Entertainment to an ill-natured Man ; but I did not think it bore a second reading.

I hope I have fully answered all Objections made by my Adversaries against the *English Tory's Letter to the Guardian* : But now Mr. Bailiff, as there have been very unjust Representations given of me, in your Town, as that a Man of so small a Fortune as I am must have secret Views or Supports, which could move him to leave his Employments, and lose a Crowd of Well-wishers, to subject himself, as he must know he has, not only to the Disesteem, but also the Scorn and Hatred of very many, who, before he intermeddled with the Publick, had a Partiality towards him. I answer, that I indeed have particular Views, and tho I may be ridiculous for saying it, I hope I am animated in my Conduct, by a Grace which is as little practised as understood, and that is Charity. It is the Happiness and Comfort of all Men, who have a regard to their Fellow-Creatures, and desire their Good-will upon a proper Foundation, that every thing which is truly laudable, is what every Man living may attain. The greatest Merit is in having social Virtues, such as Justice and Truth exalted with Benevolence to Mankind. Great Qualifications are not Praises to the Possessor, but from the Application of them ; and all that is justly commendable among Men, is to love and serve them as much as it is in your Power, with a Contempt of all Advantages

tages to your self (above the Conveniences of Life) but as they tend to the Service of the Publick. He who has warm'd his Heart with Impressions of this kind, will find Glowings of Good-will, which will support him in the Service of his Country, against all the Calumny, Reproach and Invective that can be thrown upon him. He is but a poor Creature who cannot bear being odious in the Service of Virtue. Riches and Honours can administer to the Heart no Pleasure, like what an honest Man feels when he is contending for the Interests of his Country, and the Civil Rights of his Fellow-Subjects, without which the Being of Man grows Brute, and he can never under it give to Heaven that Worship which is called a reasonable Sacrifice, nor support towards his Fellow-Creatures that worthy Disposition, which we call disinterested Friendship. The highest Pleasure of the human Soul consists in this Charity, and there is no way of making it so diffusive, as by contending for Liberty.

As to laying aside the common Views, by which the mistaken World are actuated, a Man of liberal Education can easily surmount those low Considerations; and when he considers himself, from the moment he was born into this World, an immortal, tho a changeable Being, he will form his Interests and Prospects accordingly, and not make Provision for Eternity with perishable things. When a Man has deeply planted such a Sentiment as this for the Rule of his Conduct, the Pursuits of Avarice and Ambition will become as contemptible as the Sports of Children; and there can be no Honours, no Riches, no Pleasures laid in his way, which can possibly come in competition with the Satisfactions of an enlarged and publick Spirit.

From this moment therefore I shall go on with as much Vigour and Clearfulness as I am able, to do all that is in my Power, without the least Partiality to Persons or Parties, to remove the Prejudices which *Englishman* has against *Englishman*, and reconcile wounded Brethren, so far as to behold each other's Actions, with an Inclination to approve them.

The Man who will reduce himself to this Temper, will easily perceive how far his Affections have been wrought upon and abused, from an Opposition to particular Men, to sacrifice the Interests of his Country it self.

The

The prostituted Pens which are employed in a quite contrary Service, will be very ready to entertain a Pretender to such Reformations, with a Recital of his own Faults and Infirmities ; but I am very well prepared for such Usage, and give up my self to all nameless Authors, to be treated just as their Mirth or their Malice directs them.

It is the Disgrace of Literature, that there are such Instruments ; and to good Government, that they are suffer'd : but this Mischief is gone so far in our Age, that the Pamphleteers do not only attack those whom they believe in general disaffected to their own Principles, but even such as they believe their Friends, provided they do not act with as sincere a Prejudice as themselves. Upon the least Deviation from an implicit Hatred to the opposite Party, tho in a Case which in the nearest Concern affects their Country, all their good Qualities are turn'd to Ridicule ; and every thing which before was valued in them, is become contemptible. Thus in one of the Papers I send you, a Gentleman, who has distinguish'd himself by a becoming Veneration, in the *House of Commons*, for the Assembly, and has ever deliver'd himself with a Regard to his own Dignity, and that of the Place he was in ; is represented frivolously as a Declaimer ; and a Noble Lord, who is conspicuously adorn'd with the Knowledg of Letters, and is Eminent for a lively sprightly Eloquence, rectify'd by Learning ; is declared a Companion fit only for Pert Novices and Sophisters. And what is still more Monstrous than all, a third Man of Quality, for the like Offence, is told in this nice Age of proportioning Rewards to Merit and Service, that he has as much as he deserves.

But it is to be hoped, *English Men* will at last consider, and that the Ministry will see *Dunkirk* effectually Demolished.

It is as frivolous as unjust, to hope to stop our mouths, when we are concerned for so great a Point as the Busines of *Dunkirk*, by mention of the Prerogative, and urging our Safety in our Good and Gracious Queen.

By Her great Example, Religion, Piety, and all other Publick and Domestick Virtues, are kept in countenance in a very loose and profligate Age ; all the Hours of her precious Life, which God long preserve, are divided between

tween the Exercises of Devotion, and taking Minutes of the Sublime Affairs of Her Government.

Besides which, Her Majesty has manifested Her self the most Affectionate Wife, the most constant Friend, the most tender Mother, and has filled every Duty with a Virtue as Superiour to the rest of the World, as is Her High Condition : But I shall leave what I have to say on this Topick, to the Time when the Consequence of it will be Insignificant to me, but which I hope will do Her Honour, that is, Justice, when I am no more, and the Remains of Her Sacred Person are as common Dust as mine.

But as this bright Example is in the Person of a Lady, it cannot be supposed that the general Sense of a People, the Sub-divisions of Affection and Interest among Great Men (to be learn'd only by Conversation with them, even in their unguarded Leisure) can appear to Her but from the Information of such as have the Happiness and Honour to lay them before Her. Her Majesty is therefore more particularly necessitated to rely upon the Intelligence of Her Ministry, and from that very Reason their Fellow-Subjects may be the more Sollicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary Rules of Government. Thus all which they offer for our Security and implicate Reliance upon what is transacted by the Court of *England*, to wit, Her Majesty's Care and Goodness, are Arguments for exerting both our Zeal and our Gratitude; that at any time Artful Men may not take Advantage of the Security we have in Her Virtue, to indulge too much the Power of any Foreign Prince whatsoever, especially that of the most Warlike Potentate in *Europe*.

I cannot leave this Subject, without being still anxious, with relation to the Disrespect they accuse me of to my Royal Mistress. All that can be wrested to my Disadvantage, is, That the Queen is concern'd when any thing is to be imputed to Her Servants; but I deny that, and persist in it, that it is no manner of Diminution of the Wisdom of a Prince, that he is obliged to act by the Information of others.

If I might make an abrupt Digression from great Things to small, I should on this Occasion mention a little Circumstance which happen'd to the late King *William*. He had a *French* Man who took care of the Gun-Dogs, whose

(10)

whose business it was also to charge and deliver the Piece to the King. This Minister forgot to bring out Shot into the Field, but did not think fit to let so passionate a Man and eager a Sportsman as the King know his Offence; but gave his Majesty the Gun loaded only with Powder. When the King missed his Aim, this impudent Cur stood Chartering, Admiring, Commending the King's Skill in shooting, and holding up his Hands, he had never seen ~~so~~ ~~such~~ ~~jeſte~~ miss before in his whole Life. This Circumstance was no manner of Argument to those (who afterwards found out the Fellow's Iniquity) against the King's Reputation for a Quick Eye, and Shooting very finely. I am, with Respect to the Borough, and Your-self,

SIR,

Your most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

318303